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to the reader, but every article fits into an elaborate ideological system which finds its expression in myth and folklore. The white man is Yiritja, therefore all of his culture is Yiritja; so that if a tin can is thrown away at a mission station the native who captures this valued prize knows that it is Yiritja and has a convenient and workable category in which to place it. The white man is Yiritja because the Malay trader before him was Yiritja, and Malay and white man, to the native, are obviously alike.

The moiety division is a most fundamental category in the native mind. It divides the mother's people from the father's. Ego's mother's brother, his mother, and his wife are in the opposite moiety to him, for the descent is patrilineal, while his own father and father's sister are in his own moiety. Below will be found a list of the relatives who belong to each moiety.[14] We shall place ego in the Dua moiety in order to orientate the relatives to him.

Dua	Yiritja
marikmo (father's father and father's father's sister)	nati (mother's father)
bapa (father)	momo (father's mother)
mokul bapa (father's sister)	gawel (mother's brother)
wawa (older brother) (ego)	arndi (mother)
yukiyuko (younger brother)	galle (mother's brother's daughter [ego's wife] and mother's brother's son)
yeppa (sister)	waku (sister's son and daughter, and father's father's sister's son and daughter)
gatu (son and daughter)	dué (father's sister's son and daughter)
maraitcha (son's son and son's daughter)	natjiwalker (mother's mother's mother's brother's son)
mari (mother's mother's brother and mother's mother)	momelker (mother's mother's mother's brother's daughter)
marelker (mother's mother's brother's son)	dumungur (father's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter)
mokul rumeru (mother's mother's brother's daughter) (mother-in-law)	nati (mother's father)
gurrong (father's sister's daughter's son and daughter)	kaminyer (daughter's son and daughter)
kutara (sister's daughter's son and daughter)	

Incest rules are very rigid, sexual intercourse not being allowed between members of the same moiety. The rigidity of the taboo is illus-

[14] The kinship terms which are here divided into the two moieties are fully described in the next chapter.

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trated in an autobiography collected by the writer: The narrator said laughingly that as very small children (three or four years old) the boys and girls "played house" together, and although they did not know what galle and dué (husband and wife) meant, the two sexes called each other by these terms when they were playing as though they were in the right relationship; but he added, "No Yiritja boy ever played house with a Yiritja girl and no Dua boy ever did this with a Dua girl. We always did this properly." On being asked how they, as children, knew this was the right way, he said, "That is something I always knew." Other similar occurrences related of the author's informant's and others' childhood indicate the emotional depth of the dual division in the mental make-up of these people, for it goes back of memory in the experience of the individual. Since a native's memory for the events of his early life is even better than our own, it will be seen how early the discipline of the dual division makes itself felt.

The great ceremonies also help to keep the things of the universe in their correct categories and to establish their correct relationships to each other, since at least once each year they dramatize the mythologies. Most of the great ceremonies belong to the Dua moiety—the Ul-mark, Djung-guan, Gun-a-bi-bi, and Marn-di-el-la—while the Nar-ra totemic ceremony is divided into two parts, one for each moiety; the first three ceremonies of the garma corroborees, which celebrate the spiritual life of the lesser totems, are Dua, because they are associated with Yur-lung-gur and Mu-it, the great snakes, which are Dua, and because they are connected with the two creator sisters who belong to this moiety. Even though the larger ceremonies are supposedly Dua in ownership, actually both groups participate, and in their structure both are given an equal rôle. The only practical difference in these dramatic rituals is that all ceremonies owned by the Dua are led by headmen of clans belonging to this moiety.

There are no headmen for moieties, although, as will be seen in the discussion of myth and ceremony, the headman of the Liaalaomir holds a place almost equaling in position that which the leader of a moiety would possess.

Intra-moiety fights are common; in fact, more common than warfare with clans of the opposing moiety. No clans would join together to fight another people simply because they belong to the same moiety; nor, were this reason advanced, would it prevent fighting within the moiety. The struggle for women among members of the

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CHAPTER III

THE FAMILY AND KINSHIP STRUCTURE

The Immediate Families of Orientation and Procreation

594 It seems unnecessary to say that the elementary family is found among the Murngin.[1] However, some of the earlier writers on aboriginal life stated that the general family system as known in other continental areas did not occur among the Australians, leaving an erroneous impression which still holds among many modern thinkers on primitive Australia. The elementary families of orientation and procreation are present and form the nuclear elements around which the larger kinship organization is built. The families of orientation and procreation are fundamental integrating factors in the social personality of the kinship ego. He is born into the first and orientated by it to the kinship organization of his own tribe and to the neighboring tribes. His filial relations to his father place him in his patrilineal clan and moiety and in a marrying relation with his mother's clan and moiety. The simple reciprocal[2] of the son and father ties him by a set of organized attitudes and behaviors to one-half the tribe and, more immediately, to his clan. The direct mother-son reciprocal is the foundation on which is built his entire set of relations by affinity, since it is the mother's brother's daughter who becomes the son's wife.

594 The underlying basis of the Murngin families of orientation and
●835 procreation is the incest taboo; no one within the two elementary families can have sexual relations with any other member of the two

[1] The family of orientation is the immediate family into which ego (a man or woman) is born; in its upper generation it includes the father and mother and in its lower ego's brothers and sisters. The primary function of the family of orientation from the point of view of ego is to socialize his organism and orientate it to the general community. When ego marries and has children, he establishes his family of procreation where his functions are reversed, since he is now in the position of helping in the creation of new organisms and in their socialization. All normal men and women in Murngin society, as well as other societies, live in these two families. Too frequently when kinship systems are examined these two families are considered not as separate but as one; and since all kinship structures are based on the position of ego, this has served to confuse many expositions of kinship structure.

[2] See Glossary of Technical Terms.

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groups (except, of course, ego's father with ego's mother and ego with his wife). The membership of each family is the same as in Euro-American families and includes the same members as found here, the only difference being that a man can have a number of wives, which means in Murngin society that the children have a number of mothers. The sister is not only sexually taboo to her brothers, but any direct contact with her is also taboo. The incest idea is enlarged upon to include these additional restrictions in the general behavior of the opposite sexes of one generation within the family. This extreme form of the incest taboo in the total behavior of brothers and sisters, expressed overtly in concrete negative acts (avoidance), contributes to the organization of the family of orientation. The avoidance rules become concrete symbols of the underlying rule of incest which forces marriage outside the family of orientation and thereby creates the family of procreation out of extra-familial personalities.

The father-son reciprocal is the solid bond around which ego's spiritual affiliations are organized, since by a mystical experience of his father he leaves the totem well as a tiny fish and is directed by his male parent into his mother's womb. The father's mystical experience is the expression of the creation of the family of procreation. It is in fact the first element in the filio-parental relationship, since it is the first moment when either parent is supposed to know the beginning of this new generation within his own family. The annunciation of the child to the father by a dream symbolizes the parents' sexual intercourse, and in Murngin thought both dream and intercourse are necessary for conception and birth.

This first spiritual bond built on the father-son reciprocal determines the child's place in the totemic ceremonies which are of major import in his adult life: his whole spiritual identity, including his totem and power names; his sacred well where his soul will return after death; and the dogma and ritual which surround all these spiritual entities. So much for the orientating relations of ego's generation and that of his parents. Within his own generation and his family of orientation his brothers and sisters are to be found. His brothers and he occupy an identical place within the social structure. They are in the same patrilineal line as he and enjoy the same solidarity with the father as he, the primary differentiating factor being the distinction between older and younger brothers, as expressed in the kinship terminology. The brothers are spiritually almost identical, since they have the same

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strong feeling that a man who has acquired two wives or all the issue of his gawel's first wife should allow his younger brother to have his share of the women from the gawel and mokul. The older brother, however, has the first right to them, and his gawel will ask his permission before giving the third daughter to the younger man. He will say: "It is better that your yukiyuko have this woman, for you have two already, and he has none. It is better that I have more waku to help me." Unless the older brother is an extraordinarily selfish person, he immediately replies, "Yes, you tell him to feed her" (give her to him for a wife); and he helps his younger brother procure the presents he must give gawel and mokul for this wife.

Mutual help prevails between wawa and yukiyuko in giving frequent presents to gawel and mokul. When wawa is making presents for his first wives, yukiyuko gives him spears, game from the hunt, and whatever wawa might like to present to his parents-in-law. When yukiyuko's turn comes, wawa is equally helpful. There is no obligation on yukiyuko to make presents to wawa for the latter's right to the galle that are to come to the former. Rather, wawa frequently asks gawel to give his other daughters to yukiyuko and makes presents to gawel for this purpose. Several motives guide him in this procedure. The first is brotherly affection and family pride. Own brothers through one father and one mother or father's brothers and mother's sisters are one's best friends, and most like one socially. Then there is frequently the fear that yukiyuko will fornicate with wawa's wives. This is no uncommon thing; the jungle and Australian bush offer ample opportunities for secret meetings. An old man usually suffers this indignity in silence, since he knows that his senility forces his wives to go to other men for sexual satisfaction and that his younger brothers who will inherit them are the proper ones for them. If the older brother has this situation too forcibly thrust upon him by camp gossip, he must attempt to discipline the younger man by scolding him—but "he doesn't talk very hard." Among younger men this would cause considerable trouble and would not happen very often except among tribal brothers, the whole pressure of society being against the younger man: all the relatives in his male line and those of the clan would defend the rights of the older man and condemn the younger. Finally, an older brother always helps a younger brother to acquire a wife because it settles the younger man and tends to prevent his getting into trouble with more remote wawas, yukiyukos, and other kin, by

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593 copulating with their wives, thereby forcing the wawa to defend his
835 brother from their vengeance.

607 Because all of the members of a group of brothers are all dué to the same galle and the women thereby are the potential wives of all yukiyukos of this group, there is a strong tribal rule that no yukiyuko can talk to or be near wawa's wives, but wawa can talk to and be near yukiyuko's. (This would not be true of a woman beyond the age when she would be sexually interested in yukiyuko, nor of boys below the age of puberty.) The rule holds against all yukiyukos, near or distant, except where blood brothers are involved who have a tremendous love and trust in each other. Breaking of the rule by blood brothers was observed, but not by tribal brothers.

593 There is still another method by which the junior levirate operates.
583 A wawa often gives one or two of his younger wives to yukiyuko.
587 These wives may merely be those promised by a gawel and for whom wawa has made presents (wawa would be forced to obtain permission from gawel in this case); or wawa may give yukiyuko wives he has already lived with, in which circumstances permission need not be asked.

If wawa has four or five wives, he may say to a single yukiyuko, "You see that one—you take her and feed her." Yukiyuko usually says, if wawa is an old man, "No, you are an old man. I'll wait until you die, then I'll have them all." Wawa replies, "No, you take her now, yukiyuko. I have many wives and you have none." Yukiyuko then takes her, and she belongs to him permanently. Wawa loses all right to her sexually and economically, and she cannot be returned to him. If yukiyuko died, his new wife would go to his younger brother, even though he were not consanguine but only tribal.

Ordinarily a man would present his younger brother with a wife if particularly pleased with some exploit of yukiyuko's, such as the successful termination of a punitive expedition against common enemies.

593 One of Warlumbopo's older brothers (actual) had been ambushed and
583 mortally wounded by a tribal yukiyuko.
628 Shortly after this Warlumbopo walked into the camp of the dying man.
587 Warlumbopo wailed for his dead brother. He refused to allow the wives of the dead man to bury him until he had killed the slayer of his wawa, when he returned to his dead brother and buried him.

When Daurlung, an older brother to Warlumbopo and younger to the dead man, heard the news he said, "We'll get all our Ritarngo people

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593 Thus far, the whole relationship is one of solidarity, and little potentiality for conflict appears.

835 Murngin polygyny usually implies that a man will acquire wives
595 throughout his lifetime. Through the operation of tribal laws a very old man frequently gets young girls for wives. All these women are arndi to the sons, but often young men cohabit clandestinely with their father's younger wives. These must be only tribal relatives of the sons' actual mothers. Even so, the practice is considered wrong, but the feeling is not strong enough to prevent a sexually active son from
[578] cohabiting with a father's wife. Should the old man discover it, he would be very angry and reprove his son by calling him a dog, et cetera, but it is generally agreed that an old man beyond the age where sexual life interests him would not "growl very hard."

582 Sometimes when a son is too young to marry, a father may take his
593 boy's galle as a wife (she is "small" arndi to the father) to keep
835 someone else from getting her, because of the son's immaturity. The
578 son would call this woman arndi until the father's death; then he inherits her and calls her galle. Any children born to her by the father would be called yukiyuko or yeppa and not gatu by the son. Frequently a son considers it his right to copulate with her (not openly), which causes the father much pain. The younger man would have abuse heaped on his head, but there would never be a fight over such a problem, or any other, between a father and son so long as they belonged to the same clan; however, a dispute between "sons" and "fathers" of different clans often leads to fights and occasional killings.

593 If a daughter runs away from her husband (the father's waku), the
606 father with the aid of his sons brings the runaway back to his waku. She receives a beating from him and is advised to remain faithful to her husband. Quarreling daughters who are the wives of one man are instructed by their father to live in peace, for he considers the welfare of his waku of the greatest importance. He and her brothers
[557] also keep his daughter's totemic name for her since she is not allowed to know it.

603 *Marikmo* ⟷ *Maraitchu* (diramo and mielk)* (father's father; father's
602 father's sister ⟷ son's son; son's daughter; brother's son's son; brother's son's daughter)

This relationship conforms to the father-children type, having the same five varieties as found in the bapa-gatu relationship.

* *Diramo*, man, male; *mielk*, woman, female.

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underlies this most fundamental lateral relationship. Given the correlated basic complex of the junior levirate, by which the next eldest brother inherits a dead man's wife, it would be impossible not to have polygyny; and it is rather difficult to see how the entire system of kinship could exist without the levirate in some form.

A man always tries to obtain his actual mother's brother's daughter; if he cannot get her, he tries to marry someone as near to her in consanguinity as possible.

Usually an older male dué and male galle have an understanding that their sons and daughters shall marry. Such a betrothal could occur before the birth of either child. Sometimes a gawel will promise his wife's next daughter to his waku. Thus, even before birth there is a recognized relationship between dué and galle.

There are several degrees of marriage. As soon as a boy is circumcised and old enough to understand and remember what is told him, his galle is pointed out. At a similar age a galle mielk has her dué diramo shown to her. This is done by the male parents of both children.

The young men and women older than the two usually tease the young couple with somewhat obscene jokes about their relationship and its meaning in their physical behavior. The youngsters are usually shy and ashamed when confronted with such humor; however, as small children, when away from the elders, they play house together. They are fully aware of the sexual act and of sex differences.

About the time facial hair appears upon a boy and the breasts of a girl swell, that is, when sexual intercourse is in their power and of interest to both, they start making love trysts in the bush. They may not copulate at first, but they simulate the act in close contact.

When a girl has her first menses the mother and older women put her inside a house (no special one) and leave her. She is supposed to remain in one place and move with digging sticks as crutches. This represents the myth of the two old women who made the present world, walking with the aid of digging sticks; the older of the two was menstruating. It is believed that menstruation is due to the sexual act, and that the blood is not dangerous to a woman since it comes from the abdomen and not the heart.

When a girl's first menses are over, her father (gawel to her dué) says to her mother (mokul to her dué), "You go make a house for them and fix a camp for them. She is big enough now" (see page 129).

After this, a young couple start living together and are recognized

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604 The gawel and waku-mielk relationship is not very strong. The man would not ordinarily copulate with her in a clandestine affair.
835 If he were caught he would be called a dog or other animal because of intimacy with too near a kinswoman.

Arndi ⟷ *Waku* (diramo and mielk) (mother ⟷ child)

593 There are two types of kinship in this reciprocal—mother and son,
604 and mother and daughter. Each has a number of varieties according to the closeness of relation and the consequently stronger bonds. They are: (1) actual mother, and her sons and daughters; (2) mother's sisters who are wives of the actual father and his brothers; (3) mothers, and children from nearby clans. There is another type of arndi who is ego's son's mate. She is near or distant according to the blood or tribal connection.

The essential element in the relationship is that arndi is the mother of waku. Her sisters are considered near mothers; they may be one's father's wives or near father's wives.

593 There are no taboos between a mother and her children except
835 sexual ones. Even here a waku often has an affair with a distant arndi. This is considered wrong, but it occurs. One's father's arndi would
582 come from nati and mari, while one's son's arndi would have to come from galle and mari. Except under rare circumstances there would be no possible chance of a son's marrying a possible mate for a father, just as the opposite union would not be allowed.

853 A mother suckles her own children but her sisters often help if she
847 happens to have two babies whose ages are close together. Sometimes a mother kills her newborn babe because it has followed too closely on her others and she has not enough milk to feed it. This would be done without the knowledge of the father, who would be most angry if he knew it. If a baby dies when born, the father is suspicious of his wife, believing that she might have smothered it in the bush.

847 Abortion, practiced for the same reason as infanticide, is not infrequent. The pregnant woman's sisters exert pressure on her abdomen with knees and hands.

847 When twins are born one is always killed, sometimes the second.
845 But usually, if they are boy and girl, the latter is put to death. Waltjimi's wife killed the boy and allowed the girl to live. There was much indignation in the camp, for it was said that a boy made a people strong, while a girl only caused trouble. A woman kills a twin because it makes her feel like a dog to have a litter instead of one baby.

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604 When a mother goes away with the father for a trip to distant
855 kinspeople, the older children are left with the mother's sisters, the mother's mother, or the mother's brother. The children turn to the near mothers for food and care with the same feeling as to their own mother.

593 A mother is deeply fond of her children. Maritcha saved the life of
628 a young man about fifteen years old when some of the former's clansmen plotted the boy's death. The mother heard of this. Maritcha's clan and her own had had a feud for many years, yet from gratitude she attempted to help Maritcha and stop her own people from fighting him at a later time.

841 When a girl has her first menses the mother helps paint her and take care of her.

861 There is constant tribal pressure on a mother to be good to her
626 children. No Murngin mother would dare correct her children in the manner of a European woman, for she would be considered cruel
543 and inhuman. Camp gossip and opinion would uniformly condemn her and liken her to an animal. On the other hand, there is less restraint on a son and daughter concerning their mother than in our own society. They frequently curse her, and there is no taboo on the conversation used before her.

604 Little arndi (son's wife) occupies a different place in the kinship
606 system, although the general behavior toward her would be the same as toward the true mother (see page 72). Waku in this case would also be a different person. He would be father's sister's husband or husband's father to small arndi.

If a small arndi's husband runs away she goes back to her mokul bapa (husband's mother) until he returns or until she has been given to a younger brother of the husband.

603 *Nati* ⟷ *Kaminyer* (diramo and mielk) (mother's father ⟷ daughter's child)

There are two types of this relationship since there are a female and a male kaminyer and only a male nati. There are five varieties of nati: (1) gawel's and arndi's true father; (2) brothers of this nati; (3) brothers of momo married to marikmo; (4) near nati; and (5) distant nati.

603 Nati always feeds his male kaminyer, but not the female because he
835 and she would be afraid people might think he was trying to seduce her. He would also be afraid that she might think so herself. The

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reason for this suspicion is that nati and kaminyer mielk are frequently lovers just as momo and kaminyer diramo are. It must be emphasized that they are not near relatives. 603 835

Nati takes a special interest in kaminyer diramo as a child; he and mari correct his manners and regulate his conduct more than any other relative does. 603 861

Nati is important not so much in direct relationship as indirectly. His marriage to mari mielk makes the relationship between nati and kaminyer much more important because mari mielk assumes a prominent place in a man's or woman's life. The fact that nati is the father of gawel and arndi also increases his importance. 603

Momo ⟷ *Kaminyer* (diramo and mielk) (father's mother ⟷ daughter's child)

Momo is of little direct influence in the life of kaminyer. She is frequently a sweetheart of his. This is of course not his father's mother, or any of her sisters or clan members, but a woman who stands in this tribal relation to him.

She carries the bones of a dead man, but it does not matter to his relatives or herself whether she does so, for the emotional and social bond is of too little consequence. She sometimes helps build kaminyer's first house when gawel gives him his daughter.

Mari ⟷ *Kutara* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother, mother's mother's brother ⟷ woman's daughter's child, sister's daughter's child) 602 603

There are four types of reciprocals in this group of mari and kutara, both terms being used for both sexes. We shall first consider mari diramo and kutara diramo.

Mari is ego's mother's mother's brother, and kutara is sister's daughter's son. There are other mari and kutara, but they have been built out of this fundamental relationship. The mari-kutara behavior is one of the most interesting reciprocals in the whole of this kinship system. The relationship is very close and has a considerable emotional quality to it. 602

Personal names are greatly treasured by the Murngin, and both men and women receive them from their mari, such names being more important in daily life than those obtained from a marikmo. Besides the ordinary personal names given by a mari, one also obtains any nickname that might have been given to mari through some peculiar circumstance in the latter's life. The boy's father decides what names 602 553

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sary to read the account of the gawel-waku reciprocal, keeping in mind that this waku is her gurrong when she is wife of the gawel. 602 606

Mokul and gurrong mielk are not taboo to each other. This relationship has no restrictions upon it.

Marelker ⟷ *Gurrong* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's brother's son ⟷ father's sister's daughter's children) 602

The same varieties of the marelker-gurrong relationship are found among the Murngin as the mokul-gurrong, since marelker is the brother of mokul; but the marelker-gurrong relationship, as well as that of marelker and gurrong diramo, is quite different. Avoidance and restraint are lacking between marelker and gurrong diramo; the two men are frequently together, particularly if ego has a son, because marelker is mari to the boy. Marelker is as fond of the child as its father and shows it as much attention. Gurrong makes presents to marelker whenever he gives anything to mokul, for as marelker is mokul's brother he has considerable control over her. The only taboo between the two men is that neither uses the other's personal names.

Marelker diramo and gurrong mielk are partly taboo to each other. They do not speak each other's names, and because of the moiety are sexually taboo. One of the most amusing stories in Murngin folk lore is an account of marelker seducing his female gurrong, the whole point of the story being that marelker is made to do the very things he is supposed to avoid in his daily behavior with gurrong. 835 538

Natchiwalker ⟷ *Dumungur* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's mother's brother's son ⟷ father's sister's daughter's daughter's child)

This relationship is built on the pattern of the nati-kaminyer reciprocity. Natchiwalker is important largely as a brother of momelker. His name is taboo to dumungur, and dumungur's is taboo to him.

Momelker ⟷ *Dumungur* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's mother's brother's daughter ⟷ father's sister's daughter's daughter's child)

Momelker is taboo to dumungur diramo just as fully as mokul is to gurrong diramo. She is the mother of mokul and she is also mokul to ego's gawel. Ego therefore uses the same behavior to her as does his gawel. There are no taboos between momelker and dumungur mielk. This relationship is unimportant.

There are the following varieties of momelker: (1) blood mother

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men; the feet are alternately raised toward the opposite knee. The women stop dancing and sit down in a line back of the screen. All start crying, and with stone spears or any sharp instruments they may have in their hands hit their heads to the tempo of the dance. Hitting the head is purely ceremonial in the case of most of the women. The mother and female mari really cry, the mother going into a paroxysm of tears. The mokul bapa also cries and hits herself. The father or some other near relative, while all this is going on, is opening the grave while the chorus of men continues singing. As soon as the body is found in its paper-bark wrapping, an old woman is given a spear-thrower and dances from the line of women to the grave, using the spear-thrower as though it were a paddle, while another woman emerges from the line with a spear by her side, dances toward the open grave and thrusts the spear inside it. This is done twice or oftener. The body is then taken out of the grave and the covering removed. Two of the deceased's dués (father's sister's sons) clean the bones. The father pours the water over the putrid flesh to help cleanse them.

The flesh is taken off the feet first. The skin has turned white. The bones of the feet and then the leg bones are removed. When they come to the ribs the cleaners are particularly careful because they are over the heart; they are kept at times to give as relics to the relatives of the man who has been killed by spear magic. The backbone is removed next, then the lower jaw. The head is taken off and a stick is used to thrust into the occipital opening to clean out the putrid brains. Water is poured inside the skull to wash it out and clean it again. The shoulder and arm bones and hands are then cleaned and put in the paper bark. Some of the relatives prefer to take the finger bones as relics, rather than the rib bones, since they are smaller. The men say, "I want this bone to keep because I want to remember my dead relative. I am going to take this bone. I am going to take this bone because I am going to kill somebody in a little while."

If the body has not started to rot it is often believed that the father and mother are the cause: they belonged to the same moiety and were incestuous. A man on the border line between two cultures, where the culture pattern was slightly confused, married a woman whom the natives of his tribe considered to be in his own moiety. They used to point to his children and say that their bodies would never rot. Even though the man had changed his own moiety when speaking of himself, it had no effect upon tribal opinion.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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796 837 culmination of all the religious and totemic ceremony of the past weeks, and helps to serve as an emotional outlet. It establishes goodwill between participants, and cements the bonds of friendship, bringing groups closer together. Ill-will and jealousy cannot, theoretically, flourish at such a ceremonial time. Moreover, it draws the women closer into the sacred scheme of the Kunapipi, by entering into the fundamental physical relationship between men and women: for the sexual act is basic to these rituals, its significance deeply rooted in the concept of procreation, brought about through the contact of male and female. Thus ceremonial copulation, ritualized in the Kunapipi, substantiates the religious doctrine, and stresses its underlying meaning of fertility.

Generally speaking, in the Kunapipi ceremonial areas, ritual copulation is termed *ka'rangara*; and in the Birrundudu Kadjari (equivalent of the Kunapipi) it is associated with certain special forms of dancing by men and women on the sacred ground. At Yirrkalla it is called *djambinba*, meaning "the working", for natives use the word *djama* ("work") when referring to the act of coitus. But the exchanging of wives is called *g'ruliriliri* or *lirilirija*.

[609] Visitors who have come for the Kunapipi ceremonies have their correct tribal relationships established to everyone else in the camp. Most of those who are invited are known; but others come from far away (from Rose River, for instance, or from the south of Milingimbi), and it is necessary to determine their approximate relationship to others for the purpose of exchanging wives. This is done with much talk and discussion, comparing subsections, Dreaming affiliations, and so on. When a local man finds that a certain visitor is his classificatory brother, he will send his own younger brother to inform him that he may have the local man's wife for Kunapipi copulation; presents too are sent to the visitor, expressing goodwill. In return, the visitor sends a message that he will accept this arrangement, and that his own wife will come to the Kunapipi for ceremonial copulation with his local "brother"; he also sends presents. This is the normal procedure. But at times two men, without the aid of a third party, will decide between themselves to exchange wives; and occasionally, these days, a man may arrange matters with a visitor's wife (with whom he desires intercourse, or with whom he is 796 having a liaison) without the consent of her own husband.

● 835 [601] This means that usually in the Kunapipi a man will copulate with his "long way" brother's wife, whom he calls *kalei* (wife), normally a classificatory mother's brother's daughter or mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, the daughter of her partner's *mukul* (mother's mother's brother's daughter). This, aborigines say, is the pattern for "the new generation", which differs from the traditional arrangement of the old people. In the old days (that is, prior to white [602] contact in this and adjacent areas) it was customary for ceremonial

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copulation to take place between two "cousins" (*mukul* and *gurung*), who were normally tabu-ed relatives, formally unable to talk to one another, and classified as mother-in-law and son-in-law.[10] That is, the sacredness of the occasion demanded that sexual intercourse take place between individuals who were at other times tabu. Such coitus would, on the sacred ground, be considered far more potent, from the point of view of fertility, than that between persons who were classified as "husband" and "wife", were of different moieties, and were comparatively easy of access even if not living together.

Coitus between *mukul* "cousins" at ceremonial periods was termed *ngirimbu'njamari'gwu:wa*, loosely translated as "living with one's cousin for *now* or to-day (that is, for a little while)". Their coitus was said to result in "starting a baby in the female *mukul*"; and this was later looked upon as belonging, spiritually at least, to the male *mukul*. Both *mukul* would be of the same moiety; and the child produced from such a union, which normally would be considered incestuous, would by taking the moiety of its father (for descent of the moiety is patrilineal) also be taking that of its mother. Recognition of the fact that a child would be born of this ceremonial intercourse between two *mukul*, and the parentage acknowledged, demonstrates one aspect of these people's knowledge of physiological paternity.[11] The reason for the carrying out of incestuous intercourse on the sacred ground, for ceremonial purposes, is reflected in the Wauwalak mythology; for it will be recalled that the elder Wauwalak sister had incestuous relations with a clansman (of the same moiety) before coming to Muruwul, and as a result of this intercourse, a child was born. But although the elder Wauwalak had sexual relations with a man who was of the same moiety as herself, the child apparently took not *dua*, its actual father's moiety, but *jiritja*, as if it had had a *jiritja* father (*vide* Wauwalak myth, Chapter III). "We do it", aborigines say, "because of that Wauwalak: that is why two *mukul* copulate, and their child is acknowledged".

Usually, however, it seems that intercourse takes place between a man and his classificatory brother's wife; but exceptions do occur which may normally be considered incestuous or "wrong-way". Even before the actual ceremonial intercourse takes place, as a climax to the Kunapipi, copulation between Kunapipi partners

10. This ceremonial copulation with a *mukul* still occurs in the Rose River region. *Vide* Chapter V, which describes a drawing of this ritual.
11. This, aborigines say, "happened in the old times, when the old people had this Kunapipi (suggesting that the Kunapipi was introduced at an early period); we changed from that. Now we only get the daughter of that *mukul*, but in the old time we should have got the *mukul*". But other information casts some doubt as to whether this practice of having ceremonial intercourse with a *mukul* took place only in the past. For example, it is said: "our old people married their *mukul* in the old days, and *now we do it* (that is, copulate) in the Kunapipi, in memory of those old times".

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796 begins with surreptitious meetings at night in the nearby bush.
835 There may be more men than women attending the ceremony, and it may so happen that one woman will have a number of Kunapipi partners to whom she will go. Her husband realizes that this period is charged with social effervescence, so that her indulgence is viewed as a conventional expression, and as an important element in the atmosphere of general goodwill. Some women, however, prefer to wait until the last night, being emotionally excited, then, to an abnormal degree. Prior to this final stage, there is general exchange
[832] of obscenities and erotic allusions between men and women, and between the proposed Kunapipi partners.

796 Two or three nights before the finale the men return to the sacred
535 ground, and sitting around the fires begin to sing parts of the Kuna-
786 pipi cycle relating to ceremonial copulation. The women come into
[301] the ground, some decorated with feathered string headbands. All women may attend, but only those decorated and ochred are "to dance for coitus". Their special form of dancing is called *ngamamali*; they dance before the singing men. They dance the bandicoot dance, hitting their legs together to make a rhythmic sound that blends with the song and the beating sticks.

Then the head Kunapipi woman, a tribal sister or father's sister of the male leader, dances forward, leading the other women[12] back towards the main camp. As they dance along they call out, in just the same way as the men in the *djunggawon* do when they enter the main camp. And like those men, the women too symbolize Julunggul moving towards the Wauwalak. Instead of calling it Julunggul or *gundaru* as the men do, the women call it Kitjin. "But it is the same Dreaming Snake, even though it is called by a different name: for the women call it Kitjin so that we (the men) won't know the real meaning." They turn away again from the main camp and return to the sacred ground, calling out their sacred term, Kitjin! Kitjin! and warning the men: "Don't call this name, or watch us;[13] don't come
[778] close and see us, or your bellies will come up like pregnant women". And the men sit down quietly, with heads bent, for they may not look directly at the dancing women: the women are *mareiin* (sacred), just like the dancers in a totemic ceremony.

12. It is said that all these women are "big women", and none are young girls. No young boys are present, for the initiates are at one end of the ground "asleep", or covered up with paperbark or blankets; children are left in charge of the old women or young girls who have remained in the main camp.
This really means that the women attending the Kunapipi are married; the young girls are those who are unmarried, betrothed, or who have not yet
[881] reached puberty. We are not discussing in this context ritual defloration of
[836] young girls, as an adjunct of the Kunapipi, just prior to or on their attaining puberty.

13. That is, the men cannot look straight at the dancing women, "we are frightened of the power they have". Actually, however, they do see them dancing forward.

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The leader then erects two emblems, which she and her companion have made secretly out in the bush. One is a post, consisting of paperbark bound together with twine, and resembling a smaller undecorated edition of the men's *jelmalandji*: this is the Kitjin or Julunggul Snake. The other emblem is a pole, sometimes red-ochred and decorated, which represents a stringy-bark tree. Both objects are stood upright in the ground, some distance from the men, who are said to be "like young boys being shown their first sacred ceremony". 796 786 778

Then, lifting up the Kitjin (or sometimes using another paperbark-bound object), the head woman hits the stringy-bark tree emblem, so that pieces of paperbark fly across the ground. This symbolizes the lightning sent by Julunggul while the Wauwalak were in their hut: the lightning "split" (that is, struck) a stringy-bark tree, and pieces of wood flew in every direction. It was from one of these pieces that the sacred bullroarer was made (*vide* Chapter III).

This procedure may vary in different areas, depending on the length of the Kunapipi. The women may perform their ritual further away from the men, but still near the sacred ground; and men may be forbidden to see their dancing, or the emblems they erect. After their own ceremony, they may then come on to the sacred ground and dance before the men. In some cases, too, this section is omitted.

Finishing their Kitjin dancing, they return to the *ngamamali*, and form a dancing line before the men, who now look up and begin to sing. While the women dance, various men stand up and walk over to their Kunapipi partners, and hand them presents of food, string or ochre; a woman will keep some of this herself, but may pass some on to her husband. It is at this time too that much joking takes place, and the bolder of the women (those who have gone through the Kunapipi before) make obscene gestures, holding open their labia majora, slapping their thighs, or taking up a piece of stick and holding it erect like a man's penis and moving it up and down as in coitus. When the dancing is over, the men and women return to the camp, while some copulate[14] on their way back; although they should not have coitus until the last night, it is generally recognized that this does occur after such erotic dancing. 796 786 835 [832]

14. At Yirrkalla no special position is preferred during the act; this depends principally on the couple concerned. However, the usual positions taken, in the Kunapipi rite, are as follows: A woman lies full length on the ground with her legs apart; her partner lies between them and directly upon her, holding her around the neck, while she clasps her hands at his back. Or the woman may sit on the ground, well back on her buttocks, the trunk of her body leaning back supported on her arms. Her legs are flexed and open; the man puts his legs under her and his hands around her, so that his penis enters further and their genitalia are closer together than if he lay upon her. [833]

Vide Chapter V, where the special position taken in coitus on the sacred ground is mentioned and reproduced in a native drawing.

In some regions, as along the Roper River, there is the belief that a man's body may not touch the woman's during coitus. During the act he suspends

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796 On the final night, the Kitjin and the *ngamamali* dancing are
786 repeated. The Kunapipi partners are ochred and heavily greased.
The men sing and the women dance. As the singing and dancing con-
835 tinue, a man will rise and go over to his partner, take her by the arm,
and lead her into the bush for sexual intercourse. One by one the
men stand and take their partners into the surrounding shadows;
and since there are usually fewer women than men, some women
may have coitus a number of times. Men too may, if they choose,
have coitus more than once during the night, either with the same
partner, or with another woman whose husband has already been
[431] approached, and presents exchanged. Women, at this time, stimu-
lated by days of anticipation, take a special pride in the number of
men who copulate with them. After a man has had sexual inter-
[783] course with a woman, her husband comes to him and rubs his sweat
on the man's legs and arms, so that he will not become ill from this
ritual behaviour.

There are several variations in the above pattern of ceremonial
796 copulation, and we mention the two most important. While the
786 dancing is in progress, the Kunapipi sexual partners may retire to a
345 specially constructed shade or hut (which is the *murlk* of the Wau-
walak) and have coitus. The woman either remains in the hut to
837 receive other men, or returns to the dancing. Should there be more
men than women at the ceremony, the woman will most likely remain
in the hut for the evening, accepting one man after another. In this
case, there may be several "huts" or windbreaks near the sacred
ground, each woman taking possession of one. (Not all the female
dancers retire to these huts; as mentioned, there are some who do
not have partners.) This conforms more to the pattern of ceremonial
copulation in the Roper River Kunapipi.

The second variation is in the manner of ceremonial copulation
796 (the *ka'rangara*) throughout central-western Northern Territory.
786 After the dancing, the women form two rows, according to their
837 moieties, on the sacred ground; they are slightly apart from, though
alongside each other. All lie down and assume a position ready for
coitus. Their male partners dance forward and take positions before
one line of women, while on the opposite side another row of men
dances into the ground and stands in front of the other line. The men
have their backs to one another, and their two rows are between the
two rows of women; this arrangement prevents husbands from
watching their wives. Then the men begin to have intercourse, some
awaiting their turn. When a man has finished he goes to one side

[833] himself above the woman, or inserts paper-bark between their bodies. It is said that the sweat of the woman is possessed of great potency which, if transferred to the man, will cause him harm (that is, affect the specific sacredness of the act). However, this is not found in the north-eastern Arnhem Land area.

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of the ground, but is careful not to look over towards his wife. 796
Both of these variations are known at Yirrkalla, but are recog- 786
nized as taking place outside their own Kunapipi area. 837

A man or woman will rarely refuse the ritual Kunapipi obligations of having coitus, or giving and receiving presents. Their frank attitude towards the question of sexual relations, and their understanding of the importance of such ritualized copulation, predetermines their full acceptance. Moreover, there is an obvious content of enjoyment, for both men and women are stimulated by the pre-coitus dancing and interchange of jokes. Should there be refusal, [832] caused perhaps by the dislike of a certain Kunapipi partner, that man or woman is soon obliged to conform, for the thwarted partner [753] will threaten to send Julunggul to the other and so cause sickness.

The initial incestuous relations of the Wauwalak Sisters with [773] clansmen, as we have seen, are cited in explanation of this ceremonial copulation.[15] There is also the deeper intent of fertility: the [789] symbolic spiritual fructification of the Mother. There is a tendency to regard this sexual exchange of wives as providing an element of "danger"; for here are men and women copulating with the wives and husbands of others, virtually under their eyes and with one [835] another's full (that is, in theory) sanction, and in "older times" with tabu-ed relatives. All is made possible on the sacred ground, under the "divine" sanction of the great Ancestral Beings and the Mother. The inclusion of ceremonial copulation in the Kunapipi is said to "raise its status to that of *mari* (mother's mother's brother, of the older generation)", but not to the high position retained by the *ngu:rlmak*, or the *dua* and *jiritja nara* Djanggawul and Laintjung rituals.

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On the morning following the ritual intercourse, the final group of 796
Kunapipi ceremonies is performed.

Just before dawn, all the *dua* men assemble at one end of the sacred 881
ground, and the *jiritja* men at the other. The women have returned 778
to the main camp, and the young initiates are sitting with their guardians. All the men are painted with white paint, spraying it over [302] one another from their mouths; and most have spears. They begin to clap their spears, one against the other, and dance towards each other, changing sides. The bullroarers begin to twirl at this juncture, and the women answer their sound from the main camp. The men's [535] dancing continues till sunrise, when the two moiety groups dance down to the boundary between the ceremonial ground and the main [616] camp, taking the young boys with them. Here, to the accompaniment of the bullroarers' sound and ritual calling, they erect the

15. *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 307–8, who also provides a native interpretation of this aspect.

speaking groups of Elcho Island, the Glyde and Goyder Rivers on the west, and eastwards around Buckingham, Arnhem and Melville Bays, to Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw and south to Caledon and Blue Mud Bays, had little actual experience of the sinister cult of the *kalka*. But when the Methodist Mission moved from Elcho Island to the Crocodile Group and set up its headquarters at Milingimbi, an island lying a short distance off the coast, it brought the people who had accompanied the Mission into the very stronghold of a form of secret killing or sorcery that was strange to them. On this account they came to regard the people of the west—whom they called *warnba*, strangers—with fear and suspicion, and they have been more or less at loggerheads with them ever since, resulting in frequent blood feuds, and a considerable loss of life.

For years it was the practice of the natives who had moved from their own countries to the island of Milingimbi, into what was to them foreign and hostile territory, to discourage visits of the local people by acts of aggression and violence, depending on the Mission to protect them from reprisals.

Mr. Webb, who was in charge of the Methodist Mission in the Crocodile Islands, once informed me, when I was at Milingimbi during a brief respite from patrols on the mainland of Arnhem Land, that in the early days of the Mission there he had once, to maintain peace, bought all their fighting spears from the natives, but that when an attack from the mainland was reported to be imminent he had had to re-issue these—though in actual fact the attack did not occur.

As often occurs when a people are brought into contact with those of a different culture, the natives from the east tended to exaggerate traits of the Burara that they regarded as undesirable and often told me ribald stories stressing the misdeeds of their neighbours. After a long recital of the faults of the Burara, whom he stigmatized as *warnba*, one informant remarked by way of special emphasis, '*yappa lukka!*'—they cohabit with their sisters. The brother-sister tabu is rigidly enforced in east Arnhem Land. Even to mention the name of a woman in the presence of her brother is a grave ritual offence, called *mirriri*, and brother-sister incest is a crime for which there is no expiation, punished by the death of both parties.

The charge of incest against the Burara may owe its origin to the fact that these people, unlike their neighbours to the east, had a normal tribal organization, which meant that members of clans of opposite moieties within the tribe and of the appropriate kinship status could marry, since the tribe is not exogamous. Because people between whom marriage was permitted were actually members of the same tribe, the practice would suggest incest to their neighbours of the east, already fearful of the magic of their *kalka* and ready to attribute to these people practices that were to them anti-social and unnatural. This attitude of the Elcho Island people was well shown by the fact that they charged their neighbours with cannibalism and said of them '*nganak lukka*'—they eat flesh (human)—overlooking the fact that they themselves also practised a form of ritual

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cannibalism which they regarded as indispensable to a hunter in order to maintain his prowess at a level that could earn for him the coveted title of *tjambait*.

During much of the time—amounting to several years—that I lived in Arnhem Land I hunted with groups of the status of horde, which often claimed one or more *marrngitmirri*. I frequently saw these men practising their cult, and was able to make a detailed study of both *marrngitmirri* and *kalka* while I lived a nomadic life with these people.

Kalka *and* Marrngit

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The cult of the *ragalk* or *kalka—kalk'* of the Burara—, to which I have referred, is believed to be used to bring about the death of a man who has been made a scapegoat—frequently by a rite of augury—for the death of a member of an enemy horde. Often the victim will be a man against whom the deceased or his group have harboured a grievance of long standing, perhaps because he has failed to honour

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some payment such as that obligatory to one who has been present at a *ngarra*—or clan totem—ceremony, to make a ceremonial presentation of *ngata*, food (really vegetable food), or of *gerri*, goods, valuables, to the elders of this clan. Of this obligation they say 'to pay back that *marr*'—to

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propitiate the *malli* of the culture hero whose totem is involved. This *ngata* and the *gerri* presented by men who have attended the *ngarra* by invitation, are dedicated to the *wangarr* and are said to be *yarkomirri*, *i.e.* sacramental. Failure to discharge the obligation to make expiatory payments of the kind that I have mentioned places a man in danger of death by magic, even after a long period of time.

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In Arnhem Land the belief is held that the death of any person in full possession of his social personality is due, not to what the white man terms 'natural causes' but to the act of an enemy, often a person who is believed to bear a grudge, real or imaginary, against the deceased. Even death from sickness or drowning, from attack by shark or crocodile, and especially from snake bite, is not regarded as the primary cause, but merely the agent used by an enemy, or by a *ragalk* whose aid he has enlisted, to bring this about. The only exception to the belief about natural death is extreme old age, when, in the words of one of my informants, the people say 'time belong him now'—his time is spent, he has lived his life. Certain types of swellings

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and deformities are believed to result from ritual visitation or punishment by the *wangarr*, the totemic ancestors, for the violation, even accidental or inadvertent, of a tabu, particularly on the eating of foods which are prohibited at certain critical stages in a man or woman's relation to his family or horde, as at initiation, on the death of near kin, or during pregnancy. Boils of a type distinguished as *marlung* are believed to be due to ritual punishment and so held as proof of the violation of a tabu, usually on the eating of food that is *duyu* (tabu) at critical stages in a man's life.

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A man in east Arnhem Land named Nyarrang pointed to a large tumour on his neck and told me that it was due to the *malli birlma—i.e.* a blow from the 'shade' or spirit of an implement called *birlma*—used today as a mallet or hammer in food-preparation by women, and 'found'